

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5764

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

USINT BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SANA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

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E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: MARR, SY, IS, EG

SUBJECT: KHADDAM'S FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH

1. SUMMARY: KHADDAM'S FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH NOV 27 BEFORE
PEOPLES' COUNCIL MORE NOTEWORTHY FOR WHAT IT DID NOT SAY THAN
FOR WHAT IT DID. KHADDAM DID NOT ADDRESS SUBJECT OF SOVIET

UNION OR UNITED STATES IN SPITE OF FACT HE WAS DEPARTING FOR USSR NEXT DAY AND HIS LAST PEOPLES' COUNCIL APPEARANCE, OCT 31, DREW CRITICISM FROM FLOOR FOR SYRIAN TILT TOWARD US (DAMASCUS 7065). SPEECH ALSO AVOIDED ANY DISCUSSION OF GENEVA OR ANY HINT THAT SYRIA WAS TURNING ITS BACK ON COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE SPEECH DID NOT ATTACK SADAT PERSONALLY, BUT REVERTED TO THE "IN SORROW, NOT ANGER" TONE PRESIDENT ASSAD FIRST USED IN CRITICIZING SADAT'S VISIT. THRUST OF SPEECH WAS THAT SADAT HAD FALLEN INTO ISRAELI TRAP AND HAD AND WOULD RECEIVE NOTHING IN RETURN. KHADDAM WAS REMARKABLY FRANK IN PRESENTING HIS JUSTIFICATION FOR OPPOSING "TRUE PEACE" IN AREA BECAUSE IT WOULD LEAD TO ISRAELI COM-PETITION AND ECONOMIC DOMINATION. END SUMMARY.

2. WE ARE SENDING FULL TEXT OF FONMIN KHADDAM'S FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW BEFORE PEOPLES' COUNCIL NOV 27 (LESS EXTRAN-EOUS PHRASES AND DUPLICATION OF THOUGHTS) SINCE RADIO, AND PRESUMABLY FBIS CARRIED ONLY BAREST SUMMARY.

BEGIN QUOTE:

OUR NATION FACES TODAY A CRITICAL AND CRUCIAL STAGE AT THE ARENA OF ITS NATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ISRAELI ENEMY. THE DANGER OF THIS STAGE WAS EMBODIED IN THE VISIT MADE BY THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT TO JERUSALEM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES AND THE DEVELOPMENTS THAT STILL MIGHT TAKE PLACE.
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THE IMMEDIATE ARAB REACTION WAS A STATE OF AMAZEMENT AND DIS-BELIEF THEN ANGER AND CONCERN OVER THE SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS, AND NOW THE ARAB NATION VIEWS THE PICTURE MORE PRECISELY AND REALIZES WHAT HAPPENED AND WHAT WILL HAPPEN BY VIRTUE OF THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

THE QUESTION THAT ARISES NOW IS WHY DID THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT AGREE TO MAKE THIS VISIT TO THE ENEMY, AND WHY DID HE CHOOSE TO MAKE IT AT THIS TIME?

WE CLEARLY REALIZE THE STRONG WORLD OPINION WHICH SUPPORTS THE ARABS IN THEIR LEGITIMATE STRUGGLE TO REGAIN THEIR OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND RECOVER THE USURPED RIGHTS OF PALESTINE'S PEOPLE. THE CAMPAIGN OF PRESSURE ON AND ISOLATION OF THE ISRAELI ENEMY WAS INCREASING. THIS PLACED THE ENEMY IN AN UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION IN WHICH HE COULD NOT DISREGARD WORLD PUBLIC OPINION. THOSE DEVELOPMENTS WERE WEAKENING ISRAEL'S ABILITY TO REALIZE ITS SCHEME BASED ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

M 1. LIQUIDATION OF THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE

2. ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL AND PEACEFUL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL,

AND CULTURAL RELATIONS.

3. FINDING A TYPE OF SETTLEMENT FOR THE OCCUPIED LANDS OF SYRIA AND EGYPT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF ISRAEL'S CONCEPT OF SECURITY.

DESPITE THE ENEMY'S EFFORTS TO DEVELOP ITS MILITARY POTENTIAL, AND TO BREAK ITS INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION, THE ARABS CONTINUED TO PROCEED, ALBEIT SLOWLY, TOWARDS REALIZING THEIR OBJECTIVES EXPRESSED IN THE ALGIERS AND RABAT SUMMITS:

1. FULL WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES INCLUDING JERUSALEM.
2. GUARANTEEING THE FIRM NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT IN RETURNING TO THEIR HOMELAND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

ARAB POLICY WAS EXPRESSED AS FOLLOWS:

1. INCREASED ECONOMIC POWER OF ARABS
2. STEPS TO ELIMINATE BACKWARDNESS
3. INCREASED REALIZATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF ARAB UNITY
4. GAINING WORLD PUBLIC OPINION WHICH HAS BECOME MORE OBVIOUS IN SUPPORTING ARAB RIGHTS AND OBJECTIVES.

ALL THIS WAS REALIZED DESPITE THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS WHICH AROSE IN THE ARAB ARENA; ARAB DIVISIONS, LEBANON'S EVENTS, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL INTERESTS.

MR. PRESIDENT..

THE ENEMY DID NOT STAND IDLY BY. IT WAS NORMAL FOR HIM TO TRY TO IMPLEMENT HIS POLICIES, BUT IT IS NOT NORMAL TO FIND IN THE ARAB ARENA SOMEONE WHO WOULD HELP HIM ACHIEVE HIS GOALS. THE ENEMY TACTICS FOLLOW:

1. WORKING TO FRAGMENT THE ARABS
2. CREATING A STATE OF DESPAIR
3. ELIMINATING THE STATE OF HOSTILITY.
4. GETTING ONE OF THE CONFRONTATION STATES OUT OF THE STRUGGLE. THIS WOULD AFFECT BOTH THE SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL STATUS IN THE ARAB HOMELAND.
5. CONSTANTLY THREATENING THE USE OF FORCE

VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS EXERTED TO ASSIST ISRAEL IN CARRYING OUT THIS SCHEME FOCUSED ON PRESIDENT SADAT. THE FIRST ATTEMPT SUCCEEDED IN THE WAKE OF THE OCTOBER WAR BY THE INITIAL DISENGAGEMENT, THE SECOND BY THE SINAI AGREEMENT, AND THE THIRD BY HIS VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

THIS VISIT ACCOMPLISHED THE FOLLOWING THINGS FOR THE ENEMY:
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1. THE ENEMY SUCCEEDED IN ELIMINATING THE STATE OF BELLI-GERENCY AND ESTABLISHING REAL RECONCILIATION AND NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT.
2. IT GAINED RECOGNITION OF THE ISRAELI STATE AND OF JERUSALEM AS ITS CAPITAL; A PRACTICAL AND LEGAL RECOGNITION.
3. CREATING A GREAT SPLIT IN ARAB HOMELAND. NOBODY EXPECTS THIS EVENT TO PASS BY WITHOUT A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION THROUGHOUT THE ARAB HOMELAND.
4. ENDING THE STATE OF WAR WHILE ARAB TERRITORIES ARE STILL OCCUPIED AND NOT EVEN THE SLIGHTEST GUARANTEES HAVE BEEN MADE FOR THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE.
5. HUMILIATING THE ARAB NATION BY HAVING AN ARAB PRESIDENT MAKE THIS VISIT.
6. BREAKING UP THE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION WHICH SURROUNDS ISRAEL. IN THE WAKE OF THE VISIT OF EGYPT'S PRESIDENT TO JERUSALEM MANY COUNTRIES WILL NOT BE EMBARRASSED TO REESTABLISH SEVERED RELATIONS.

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN..

THE ISRAELIS REALIZE WELL THAT LIQUIDATING THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE AND REALIZING THE ISRAELI CONCEPT OF SECURITY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED EXCEPT BY ESTABLISHING NORMAL RELATIONS. BY THIS THEY WOULD REALIZE COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THE ARAB HOMELAND ECONOMICALLY, CULTURALLY, AND POLITICALLY. THE ARABS WILL TURN INTO A LABOR FORCE FOR THE ISRAELI ECONOMY AS IS THE CASE PRESENTLY IN WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP.

ONE OF THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL ZIONISM IS TO CONTROL THE ECONOMY OF THE MIDDLE EAST INCLUDING ARAB ECONOMIES. THE ARAB CITIZEN, WHETHER A WORKER, PEASANT, PROFESSIONAL, BUSINESSMAN OR EDUCATED MAN WILL, UNDER PEACEFUL NORMAL RELATIONS, BE A TOOL THAT SERVES THE ISRAELI ECONOMY. ON THE OTHER HAND THE ISRAELI CONCEPT OF PEACE MEANS OPENING THE REGION TO MILLIONS OF JEWS IN THE WORLD TO IMMIGRATE AND BUY LAND IN

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THE ARAB HOMELAND AS WAS THE CASE IN PALESTINE. LANDS IN SYRIA, LEBANON, JORDAN, AND EGYPT WILL BE INHABITED BY JEWISH IMMIGRANTS AND BECOME A BASE FOR A NEW ISRAELI EXPANSION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ESTABLISHING THE JEWISH STATE FROM THE NILE TO THE EUPHRATES.

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USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DOHA
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY MANAMA
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY SANA
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FROM THIS POINT WE SHOULD LOOK AT THE DANGER OF EGYPTIAN
PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM AND AT THE POLICY HE FOLLOWS,

BECAUSE IT ACHIEVES FOR THE ISRAELIS BY ARAB HANDS WHAT ISRAEL COULD NOT ACHIEVE FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS. THIS IS EVIDENT IN THE FOLLOWING:

1. PRESIDENT SADAT BROKE THE UNITY OF ARAB STAND REPRESENTED IN THE SUMMIT RESOLUTIONS WHICH NOT ONLY DEFINE THE OBJECTIVES BUT ALSO THE MEANS FOR REALIZING THOSE OBJECTIVES. HENCE HE ATTEMPTED TO DROP THE ARAB DIMENSIONS OF THE STRUGGLE.
2. THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT DECLARED TO NBC THAT HE HAS DECIDED TO MAKE A BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL CLAIMING THAT THIS AGREEMENT DOES NOT CONTRADICT A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.
3. THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ISSUED THE INVITATION FOR WHAT HE CALLED A PREPARATORY MEETING WITH AIMS AT COVERING UP HIS INVITATION TO THE ISRAELIS.
4. HE APPROVED THE ISRAELI CONCEPT OF SECURITY IN HIS SPEECH AND SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS. THE ZIONIST MASS MEDIA AND ITS ALLIES IN THE WORLD WANTED TO FOCUS ON SADAT'S PLEDGE NOT TO SIGN A SEPARATE PEACE AND HIS ADHERENCE TO FULL WITHDRAWAL AND THE PALESTINE CAUSE IN AN ATTEMPT TO DECEIVE ARAB PUBLIC OPINION AND DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM THE VISIT. ARAB CITIZENS COULD NOT BE DECEIVED BECAUSE:
 - (1) WHEN ASKED ABOUT HIS VIEWPOINT OF THE KNESSET SPEECHES, THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SAID THAT WHAT WAS SAID IN THE SPEECHES DOES NOT EXPRESS REALITY. THE REALITY CAME IN THE CLOSED MEETINGS. IN THOSE WORDS, HE WANTED TO ASSURE THE ISRAELIS THAT SOME OF HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS DO NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE.
 - (2) IT IS NOT A MATTER OF A SPEECH, BECAUSE HAD IT BEEN SO HE COULD HAVE DELIVERED IT AT THE UN. THE SERIOUS SIGNIFICANT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CANCE LIES IN AN ARAB PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM, AND IN AGREEMENT ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES REACHED THROUGH PREPARING FOR THE VISIT.

- (3) THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT REVEALED THE SECOND STAGE IN HIS SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY IN WHICH HE INVITED THE ISRAELIS TO VISIT CAIRO UNDER THE PRETEXT OF A WORKING COMMITTEE, AND HE ALSO DECLARED HIS INTENTION TO SIGN A BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL TO NBC.
- (4) THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT GAVE UP HIS COMMITMENTS TO THE PALESTINE CAUSE BY DECLARING HIS ABANDONMENT OF PLO REPRESENTATION FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND BY HIS ACCEPTANCE OF A LOCAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.
- (5) WHAT IS MOST DANGEROUS IN THE VISIT IS THE FACT THAT IT TOOK EGYPT OUT OF THE STRUGGLE AND CREATED A DEEP SPLIT IN THE ARAB HOMELAND.

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN..

THE ZIONIST MASS MEDIA AND ITS UPPORTERS ATTEMPT TO PICTURE
SADAT'S VISIT, THE STEPS HE TOOK AND MIGHT TAKE, AS A BRAVE AND
COURAGEOUS STEP TOWARDS PEACE.

DOES BRAVERY MEAN THAT A MAN SHOULD TAKE A DICISION AGAINST
HIS NATION, ITS INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES, OR DOES IT MEAN TO
TAKE THE DECISION TO CONFRONT THE ENEMY AND RESIST IT IN ORDER TO
SERVE ONE'S NATION AND ITS OBJECTIVES? EGYPTIAN LAW PROVIDES
FOR A CRIMINAL PUNISHMENT FOR EVERYONE WHO CONTACTS ISRAEL.
DOES THIS MEAN ALL THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN CONVICTED SHOULD NOW BE
CONSIDERED BRAVE?

GENTLEMEN:

YOU ALL KNOW HOW MUCH WE LOVE SISTERLY EGYPT AND ITS GREAT
PEOPLE, AND HOW MUCH WE APPRECIATE ITS ARMY AND ITS HISTORICAL
ROLE IN OUR NATIONAL STRUGGLE, AND ITE EFFORTS WE ALWAYS EXERTED
TO HAVE ETYPT STURGGLING AT OUR SIDE FOR THE CAUSE OF OUR ARAB
NATION...

OUT OF THIS FEELING, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC TRIED
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TO DISSUADE PRESIDENT SADAT DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO DAMASCUS
FROM HIDDECISION TO VISIT ISRAEL FOR THE SAKE OF EGYPT AND ITS
PEOPLE. WE FELT SAD TO SEE ON TV THE PRESIDENT OF ETYPT SALUTE
THE ISRAELI FLAG AND EMBRACE GOLKA MEIR AND SHAKE HANDS WITH
DAYAN AND SHARON.

WE FELT SAD FOR EGYPT, ITS PEOPLE AND THEIR DIGNITY AND
ROLE WHEN WE SAW THEIR PRESIDENT IN ARAB JERUSALEM RECOGNIZING
THE ENEMY, SHAKING HANDS WITH HIM AND CROSSING OUT LONG YEARS
OF PAIN, SACRIFICWS AND BITTERNESS...

DID THIS VISIT SERVE THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR NATION IN
JUST PEACE? DID IT HELP ESTOBLISH AN HONORABLE, LASTING AND
JUST PEACE? COULD SADAT REGAIN THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE
PALESTINIAN OR REGAIN SINAI FOR EGYPT THROUGH THIS ROAD HE
WALKED?

WE FEEL GREAT SORROW FOR PRESIDENT SADAT AND THE BREAKDOWN
HE SUFFERED ON THE ROAD WE NEVER WISHED HIM TO TRAVEL.
BARGAINING FOR PEACE CAN NOT BE DONE BY PLACING ALL THE CARDS
AND ARMS IN THE HANDS OF THE ENEMY.

IF THE ISRAELIS, USDER THE PRESSURE OF ATAB SOLIDARITY AND
INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AND UNDER THE POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY
EXPLOSION, WERE STILL INTRANSIGENT AND ADHERED TO THEIR STANDS
AND CONTINUED THEIR AGGRESSIVE EXPANSIONIST PRECEDURES, HOW CAN
WE IMAGINE THAT SADAT'S POLICY WOULD SUCCEDD BY WHICH HE TURNED
HIS BACK ON THE ARAB NATION AND ITS SOLIDARITY AND CREADTED A
DEEP SPLIT IN THE ARAB ARENA, AND FORSOOK ALL MEANS, EVEN ARMED
FORCE, TO LEIBEATE THE LAND?

WHAT IS REQUIRED TO CONFRONT THE CRITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES
CREATED BYSADAT'S VISIT ARE:

(1) MOBILIZATION OF ARAB PUBLIC OPINION WITH REGARDS TO THE

SERIOUS DANGERS TO WHICH ITS NATIONAL FATE IS EXPOSED.

(2) CREATING A SOLID ARAB STAND AROUND A GENERAL LINE WHICH
AIMS AT:

(A) ELIMINATING THE RESULTS OF SADAT'S VISIT AND THE GENERAL
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PLAN WHICH LED TO SADAT'S VISIT.

(B) WORKING FOR THE WIDEST BASE OF ARAB SOLIDARITY AROUND
THIS LINE.

(C) AFFIRMING THE PAN-ARAB NATURE OF STRUGGLE BETWEEN US
AND THE ENEMY, AND CONSEQUENTLY, THE RESPONSIBILITY OF
CONFRONTING THIS STATE WILL BE ALWAYS AN ARAB RESPONSIBILITY.
WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THESE PRINCIPLES THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT
WILL CONDUCT A SERIES OF CONTACTS AND MEETINGS WITH SISTERLY
COUNTRIES AND THE VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL POWERS INCLUDING THE
RESTRICTED SUMMIT CONFERENCE, AND THE POPULAR CONFERENCE TO
BE HELD IN LIBYA WITHIN THE COMING FEW DAYS.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH SURROUND US NOW ARE NOT EASY,
RATHER THEY ARE VERY COMPLEX. BUT NO MATTER HOW GREAT ARE THE
DIFFICULTIES, AND I DO NOT WANT TO UNDERESTIMATE THEM, WE
CAN STILL OVERCOME THEM BECAUSE WE FIGHT FOR A CAUSE THAT IS
BASED ON RIGHT AND JUSTICE, BELIEVING THAT OUR NATION WHICH
FACED LONG CENTURIES OF OPPRESSION AND AGGRESSION IS ABLE TO
OVERCOME ALL DIFFICULTIES.

END QUOTE.

MURPHY

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